563 582 /59 cont./ Many young colonists return to the homeland in order to marry. According to the figures I obtained, the percentage of marriages contracted between non-kinsmen among the colonists is only a little higher than in Bontoramba. A small number of marriages was contracted with Buginese. For those who live far away from home for a long period, marriage with neighborhood associates seems tempting.

563 583 In addition the small percentage of silariang marriages is striking. Without closer investigation, it is impossible to indicate a reason for this. "The Buginese marry more easily than we do"; "they do not find silariang so important"; Buginese ideas were formulated and compared with their own notions on this point in this way. It may well be that the small percentage of silariang marriages is a reflection of the fact that the Makassarese have in part accepted these Buginese ideas.

342 563 184 The houses of these colonists are smaller and stand on lower posts than those of their Buginese fellow kampong residents; the walls are frequently made of atap, while the Buginese have wooden or bamboo walls. On the whole, therefore, their dwellings make a poor impression compared with those of the Buginese as well as with those of their kinsmen back home. The average number of occupants in one house is just a little lower than that in Bontoramba.

186 563 621 Just as for the Buginese in Makassarese country, the common language constitutes a unifying element for these colonists.

The tie with the group of relatives in the homeland is strong. Marriages with the new neighborhood associates are rare. The worship /60/ /61/ community is extremely weak, since all remain members of the worship community back home. Common residence and work in the same territory creates ties between its residents. The tie to the land is weak. The indigenous residents have control of the land. In individual cases a newcomer was able to obtain a piece of land,

778 /63 cont./ The Parappo

796 The parappo belongs to the essential part of what is offered to the ancestors. The word means: "to offer or give something to a superior." The parappo is an insignificant-looking little bundle of pisang leaves of about the size of one or two fists full. Its contents seems to consist of betel leaves folded in various ways. Each way of folding has its proper name (for instance: poto, tontong lebong, putu rabing, kalomping). A little piece of areca nut and a very small amount of lime (paleo) goes with every betel leaf. The number of these leaves varies according to status. In the Prince of Goa's kin group the number 9 forms the basis of the parappo (1),

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1. By the number that forms the basis of the parappo is meant that a parappo consists in one case of 4 poto, 4 kalomping, etc., and in another case of 6 poto, 6 kalomping, etc.

while in the kin group of the head of the adat community it is 7. /64/ In that of kampong people, the numbers 7, 6, 5, and 4 occur.

612 A number of further differences should be pointed out
778 which vary with the related group. At the ritual on the
184 sawah, the number of leaves in some groups is a little smaller
796 than at a wedding or other kin group feast. Four and 6 respectively were the numbers in the Kapala group in Bontoramba. In a few groups of relatives a further distinction was observed between boys and girls. If the number of leaves for a boy is 6, then it is 7 for a girl (1). A distinction

1. These numbers were observed at a number of birthday festivals.

612 /64 cont./ is likewise made between the offering presented
778 to the ancestors in the attic and that which -- on the occasion
184 of the same festival -- is delivered into the water. At a
796 festival in the Kapala group the numbers were 6 and 7 respectively.

The Rojong Song

533 The rojong song constitutes another significant element
796 of the ritual. Old women hum the sounds unintelligibly and monotonously; the exact words frequently are not known to them. This song occurs at wedding feasts and other important solemnities in the related group, and it is coupled with the beating of drums (ganrang). The rojong song recorded in Borongloë before the war has disappeared. The woman who gave it to me was overcome by all kinds of misfortune. She was not prepared to repeat it to me.

Food Taboos

612 In a single related group there is awareness, however
262 feeble, that the members of the group may not eat a certain animal (2). In Goa it is still generally known, perhaps,

2. Dr. Chr. Nooteboom drew my attention to this phenomenon for the first time in 1939.

that the members of the karaëng group (the nobility) may not eat the meat of the white buffalo.

In the related group of the head of the Borongloë adat community the realization faintly continues that a certain type of eel may not be eaten. To explain this the following
773 story is told: A woman who had violated a prohibition was
612 punished for this with the task of carrying water in a basket
262 from the river to a certain place. The basket, however, did

793/64 cont. / not hold /65/ water. An eel appeared which curled
612 up inside it and in this way closed off the seams of the basket
262 with the slime of its skin, and in that way the woman was able to carry out her task. Out of gratitude she there upon vowed that she and her descendants would not eat the eel and its descendants.

[484] However, neither in the Kapala group nor in any of the other groups in Bontoramba were people able to produce such a story. Nor were they able to name a certain animal that a number of relatives were prohibited from eating.

Pantasa'

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769 In the attics of Makassarese houses one frequently finds a pantasa' (literally, "bedstead"). This is a little house on posts, from 70 to 100 centimeters tall, hung with mosquito netting. It has a small entrance going up to the front of the house (sapana) such as only the nobility possesses. In this little house one can see a small pillow and a little mat.

The care of these pantasa' primarily involves having a candle burn by its side every Thursday evening at sundown (malang Djuma') and always having ready a glass filled with water, a little bowl with betel and areca nuts, and a cup of water for washing one's hands, such as is customary at every meal. It is believed that the ancestors (pattautoaang) descend here. Therefore, care is taken at all times to leave whatever is customarily presented to an honored guest.

In or near these pantasa' is to be found a small closed basket (baku paballe, literally, "medicine basket"). A number of objects belonging to the ritual are kept in it. Next to the pantasa' one finds, in some cases, a large open basket (salosso), where the larger ritual objects are kept.

[648] It is told that formerly almost all the houses had their pantasa', but that in 1905 the Dutch troops destroyed a great number of them because they were used in blood sacrifices, which always had renewed opposition as a result. It is further

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

Young women and men often evade each other
571 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
626 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
834 of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
177 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
834 new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

562 593 /175 cont./ buy clothes, then the latter acts according to her own wishes. At such times the man becomes angry, but he soon comes to accept the situation with the sigh that, after all, these are only unimportant matters. Questions involving siri' are, in his opinion, ultimately the important points, and accordingly he makes sure that these continue to be under his jurisdiction.

585 184 /176/ No two wedding festivals are alike. The respective groups of relatives each have their peculiarities which find expression in details of the ritual. Within one and the same related group, each of the leading personalities leave their stamp both upon the organization of the entire festival, as well as upon the execution of the individual rituals. They show thereby that they can not only follow existing rituals, but also that they can add new rituals to these already existing.

Whoever has gone through several wedding festivals will have been struck by the great differences between them, as well as by the many traits they have in common. In the description that follows here of a number of subelements of the wedding ritual, I have followed, in the main, the notes that I took down at a single festival. In this case I am not striving for completeness. Otherwise the ritual would have had to be described much more fully. Behind each detail there again loom new ones.

582 /206 cont./ The marriage of an oldest son in a family to the oldest daughter of another is regarded as unfavorable (1), even if both are cousins of the sixth degree, for instance.

1. Makassarese: Ulua siagang ulua nabambang.

/207/ If a couple is married, the marriage of the husband's brother to a sister of his wife is considered unfavorable. This is called "piling up bamboos" (tambung palapa). This [565 184] marriage occurred in the karaeng group of relatives. The marriage partners were first cousins, probably a sign of a limited choice of marriage partners. It is unclear whether this marriage was also regarded as unfavorable by karaeng.

When a couple is married, the marriage of his sister to a brother of the wife is considered unfavorable. This is called "the closing of the crossbeam" (sisuluru palangga). Instances of this in Borongloë are unknown to me.

The marriage of a man to the sister of his wife is forbidden. This prohibition is based upon Moslem law (1).

1. See T. W. Juynboll, Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet volgens de leer der Sjâfi'itische school /Guide to the Knowledge of the Mohammedan Way according to the Dogma of the Shafiite School/, third edition, 1925, p. 185.

The marriage of a man and woman who as children were nursed by the same woman is regarded as prohibited in some cases. The prohibition is based upon Moslem dogma (1).

1. Ibid.

582 /207 cont./ Suckling kinship is thought to exist where a child under two years of age has been nursed by a woman five times to its full satisfaction. Among the Makassarese, nursing 853 by the mother occurs at irregular times. If the child so much 582 as makes a sound, it is put to the breast. If the mother does not have enough milk, she is helped out. Preferably a sister or a cousin (samposikali) of the mother takes the child to her breast. Under these conditions it is difficult to prove that a young man or a young woman some twenty years before were both nursed by one and the same woman. Among religious families in the city of Macassar, women take care that they do not nurse a child of a sister or cousin lest difficulties arise later when they arrange marriages. In one of these kin groups, a marriage did not go through even though preparations were far advanced, because the suspicion had been uttered that bride and bridegroom had both been nursed by the bridegroom's mother. The young man was then married to a younger sister [184] of the bride. /208/ In Borongloë nothing was noticed by me of the awareness of this marriage prohibition based upon suckling kinship (1).

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1. . .A mother of several children whose milk had continued to flow frequently nursed her grandchildren of approximately the same age as her youngest children. The nipple of an old woman who no longer produced any milk was used by the recently born child of her daughter as a pacifier. When a woman is pregnant (when the menstruation has stopped for several months),

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588 /219 cont./ Along with the request for consent, the wali is frequently asked whether he wants to receive the sunrang. And his answer that he does not wish to receive the sunrang must be interpreted in the same way as his statement respecting the consent he is asked for: he desires to deny [578] every tie with the woman who has made him siri'. She should be dead; for him she does not exist. At the nikka' the wife therefore receives the sunrang herself. Later, at the reconciliation, the sunrang is then offered to her kinsmen after it has been freshly prepared. Thereby one maintains the fiction that only then does the ordinary marriage take place.

[583] Independent of all rank and status, the amount of the sunrang at the marriage of a woman who has fled is always 20 reals (1).

[183]

1. Of the total number of marriages (107) contracted over a period of time of one year (from January 7, 1948 to January 7, 1949) in Borongloe, there were 19 silariang marriages, or around 18 per cent. This percentage seems to be normal for Goa. In 1947, 1492 marriages were registered in the entire province of around 200, 000 residents. Of these, 283 were silariang marriages. According to reports, the percentage of silariang marriages is much higher in other districts, such as Djeneponto.

[184]

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo killings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been
771 at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
184 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

157 was adamant. The Minangkabau man said that no human
114 sympathy, feeling, or responsibility was shown. He added that he is afraid because of the many unfriendly faces all around. He is an Indonesian, a stranger here.

661 The old Sulewatang, who is Minister of Public Information
829 here, gave a speech on government. Someone in the audience asked him what democracy meant. He said it meant unques-
●184 tioning obedience to the orders of the radja. Then I heard
563 something really good. There are two kampongs near Pam-
161 panua, one called Welado and the other Udjung. The people
582 there are known to be different and Andi said they formerly had no adat. But they are reported to have "learned". Udjung and Welado, especially the latter, speak Buginese with a definite accent. Later, on our way to Pampanua, we passed Welado which Andi says has a population of 10,000. It is a dark, dank place on the river with ramshackle houses. Still, it is no more so than most Buginese kampongs. The people seem to me (imagination?) to be a bit negroid. Anyway, Friedericy says that Welado is the one village that refused to give a girl, if requested, to the radja. This is because once a Bone prince mistreated a girl of this kampong who was given to him. The Sulewatang explained the case by telling me that this kampong was formerly Toridjene. They are Badjo, now in the process of acculturation, and still have an accent in Buginese.

197 As for accent and languages in this area, I am told that
191 Makassarese is so close to Buginese that it can be understood by either speaker when speaking to the other in ones' own language (like Danish and Norwegian). But, they say, it sounds funny. Also, they can tell what part of the Buginese area a person comes from by his accent, for example, if a person comes from Wadjo.

186 I got nowhere regarding the traditional enmities question. [presumably with the Makassarese--Analyst] They seem to have forgotten the whole business, and maybe it was this way formerly. Once the war was over, it may have been like a game.

772 I also got nowhere on cosmology linked with the state, nor with magical ideas. They are dead on this matter, or else they are covering up.

443 As for the market, this is definitely a five-day market
366 week area although there are twice-a-week markets, and, as in Pampanua, five-day-a-week markets. One lad said that there are interlocking circles of markets. Thus Watumpone gears in with at least two. One runs to the west including Palakka and (I presume) three other kampongs with markets